Mo 595 534 4-22 /109 cont'd/

Each of the two women has her chickens, which she has at her disposal as owner, as well as the eggs. The grain left on the flat area after the threshing and winnowing also goes into their private tills. At the time of the opium harvest, what adheres to the Mo [276] lining of the containers reverts to them also; each one therefore has her personal savings.

Mo 595 I cannot end the chapter on polygamy without concluding that monogamy is in fact the general rule and the moral order among the T'ou-jen, while polygamy constitutes an exception to the rule.

Indeed, one meets polygamy only in special cases, which are sterility, widowhood, and the shortage of workers. The fact that polygamists of the fourth category are by far the least numerous seems to prove the point. (1)

Ma 595

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64: Among the Manchus monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Polygamy if indeed it does occur, is a very exceptional form and can be considered as an incidental institution. According to the Manchus, polygamy is a modern fashion borrowed from the Chinese who especially the rich people use it very largely. The rich Manchus used to have 5, 6 wives until a new law limited the number of wives to two only. There is no restriction to taking two sisters as wives, but the Manchus do not like to give two daughters, because other unmarried people may be discontented by it. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 Conclusion. An ethnographic fact of prime important entirely dominates the question of the marriage of girls and widows, and in part that of polygamy.

[34 cont.]

represent long hair.

Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute. Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and thunderbolt.

The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

791
778
534

[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.]
menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

791
[789]

Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine. For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medi- [755] cines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35.] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

192
791

Shepherd-Bon: sĕnoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

192
791

7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kañgergë: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sënoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgañdoñ: Tibetan rkañ = shinbone, duñ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarë: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombōra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
[778] Bone flute: šgañ-doñ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kañgärgë.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

792 [35]

4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

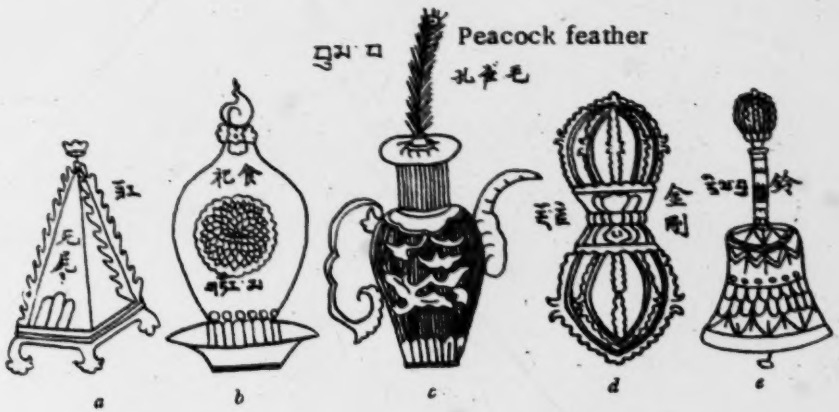
Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

778
534



[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

792 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place
791 on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come
574 a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778

Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

534 354 532

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[39 cont.]
792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception. The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
796 gifts are brought after him on animals.
574 [40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers.
[465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of
784 the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is
[609] called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the be-
[792] ginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

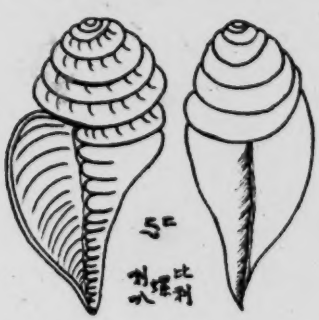


Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

792 First fetching: ġdzõ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

796

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on

262 preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sẽtoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'aõ (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsaõ-êrh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsũra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10

796 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõñ (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõñsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbä (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarẽ.

Mani-string: mani.

[44 cont.]

782

10. [Foreign text p. 49.] For the water offering, cf. the chapter, "The Lama-reception, Note 3.

The threads are in the well-known five sacred colors. The material does not matter. The best, naturally, are silk threads. Wealthy [45] people throw a small bundle of each [557] color into the fire every time; poor people, on the other hand, merely cut off a little piece from each string, so that they will last a long time.

782 The conch comes from the east, from China or Tibet. 534 It is said that none are found in the Koko Nor. Hence, not [439] every family has a conch. It is therefore not absolutely necessary for one to be blown at the offering (7).

7. [Foreign text pp. 48-49.] The conch is the Triton horn, the Triton spiral. To the Tujen it is a symbol of purity and of the sublime. Accordingly, the word dõn is also used adjectively for: pure, white, sublime, sacred. One could translate it simply as "conchlike." It is found in this sense especially commonly in songs. In order to blow it, one pierces the pointed end and edges it usually with metal; this serves as the mouthpiece. Colorful bands often hang at the other end, the horn; cf. the illustration. In spite of its dull tone, the conch resounds very far.

It is self-evident that the conch is not native to that region. The Tujen name is a phonetic imitation of the Tibetan dun; usually the Tibetans further add dkar, "white." In Mongolic this conch is called labai (Unkrig; Kov. 1958), which in turn is related to the Chinese la-pa,

[45 cont.]

782
534

[Note on foreign text p.48-49 cont.] "trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pilie (to blow), for instance, dõŋgẽ pilie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duṅ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śankha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nü, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

[171]

The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duṅ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sanskr. dakṣiṇā varta śankha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

[755]
[578]

[45 cont.]

782
534

[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

782
183

All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

[242]

782
[776]

Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[777]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[45 cont.]

192
782
824

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.]
(white bean-tressel). gagula: Tib. ka ko la = Amomum medium; Chin. ts'ao-kuo (straw-fruit). dzati: Tib. dsa tsi (Sanskr.) = nutmeg. ġawur: Tib. ga-bur (Sanskr.) = camphor (Unkrig).

Spices: ġlu (ġlo, ġlẽ) sẽmãn; ġlu (Tib. loanword) = earth-god;
sẽmãn (Tib. loanword) = medicine, spice (11) [see Note 11 above].

Kãnba flowers: kãnba.

Incense additions: rdzẽ (Tib. loanword) = additions, things.
snaġsoġ fdzãñ rdzẽ (Tib. loanword) = many kinds of incense additions (4), (11) [see Notes 4 and 11 above].

Cloves: lisi (Tib.); ting hsiang (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Saffron: gušgum (Tib.); tsang hung-hua (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Cardamom: sẽsmiel (Tib.); i-chi-jen (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Marl: gagula (Tib); ts'ao-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Nutmeg: dzati (Tib.); jou-kuo (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

Camphor: ġawur (Tib.); ping-p'ien (Chin.) (11) [see Note 11 above].

192
782 [46]

Milk (profane): sun.

Libation: tsiab (tsiaw) (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 above].

[534] Conch: doñ (Tib. loanword) = trumpet, horn (7) [see Note 7 above].

Heaven, you know it: tieṅgẽrẽ mudie.

[372] Purification-fire: sũndur (Tib. loanword).

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

115
142
291
302
792
796
534
292

Plate I

a

b

792
796
782
292
778

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

115
145
241
302
792
796
534
292
782
778
752
778
292

a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer, 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guǎmbasoma) in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bö, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776]

[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry [535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all [787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tõrõdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõṅ; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rëbuoḡë (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luăn rëgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

* See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

[847 cont.]

Details

789
757
755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

789
791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789
782
791 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

[534]

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

241
782
756
754
341
292
534
778
142

a

b

782
792
292
764
[171]

c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 782 757 754 341 292 534 778 142 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter, "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festival, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 792 292 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring. Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death position in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photograph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 792 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire. The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

357 784 333 The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards, the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the
[534] double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone,
[174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in
779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sui kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

Apprentices where are part of their
training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters.

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted.

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmberg, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.

[p.84(A)]